BRITISH 'COLONIAL GOVERNMENTALITY': SLAVE, FORCED AND WAGED WORKER POLICIES IN COLONIAL NIGERIA 1896-1930

Abstract

In this article, we explore employment policies and practices in Colonial Nigeria, during a period of planned development, from the late 19th to early 20th century. We consider the relationship between colonial government, commerce and development of a labour force against the working experiences and growing aspirations of many colonised locals. Our work builds on the ideas of Michel Foucault and in particular the concept of governmentality. We draw on an archive that comprises British government and colonial administrative reports, complimented by a range of official and unofficial documents of the period. The British colonial administrators were not able to enforce governmentalist thinking throughout colonial Nigeria. There was a coexistence of colonial governmentality through waged labour (a non-traditional practice in precolonial Nigeria), sovereign power through localised rule by traditional leaders and slave labour) and forced labour (introduced by the British). The segmentation of the labour force in this way as many locals refused to engage in the waged labour system, and the number of workers needed through the waged labour system was insufficient to support policy targets.

In the Lagos area in particular there was concentration of commercial, administrative and waged employment, with Lagos also the main hub for the organisation of labour and the seeds of resistance to colonial governmentality among workers dissatisfied in particular with wage and taxation levels. This article will cover a number of areas including British colonial administration, governmentality, indirect rule, forced and slave labour, waged labour and the creation of labour markets, employment policies and laws, and community and worker resistance, in colonial Nigeria. We also use the Foucaudian approach of the deep archive, which captures the interplay between governmental policy and its outcomes, and accounts of the lived experience, as our method of evaluating our research archive.

Introduction

Trading posts had been long established across Africa, most noticeably in the form of European involvement in the Atlantic slave trade from the 15th century. Primarily, private individuals undertook this, albeit that the European-run slave estates were established in countries colonised and administered by European states. Declining economic return on slaves as an international commodity (Williams, 1944/1994; Walvin, 1983, 1994, 2000), and rising moral objections by abolitionists (Walvin, 1996) meant that by the early to middle of the 19th century, the slave trade was eventually abolished. However, with the rise of the UK, France and Germany as major international military and industrial powers, the interest in Africa as a source of labour, and agricultural and mineral resource needed for industrial grown, grew. In the UK, industrial growth was substantially fuelled initially by reparations paid on the abolition of slavery, albeit that the contribution to the British economy (rather than personal wealth acrrued individual slave estate owners and investors in the slave trade) is contested. Further, an important legacy of the slave trade is attitudes towards race. Williams (1944/1994) observed that: "*A racial twist [was] given to what is basically an economic phenomenon. Slavery was not born of racism: rather, racism was the consequence of slavery*' (p.7).

Africa provided a wealth of options for exploring European colonial activity. Many scholars from a range of history sub-disciplines, including economic history (Hopkins, 1976, 2009, Fieldhouse, 1979, 1983), African history (Ekechi, 1983 ; Hopkins, 1987 ; Olukoju, 1992), sociology (Scott, 1995) geography (Legg, 2009), developmental studies (Austin, 2008), colonial policy (Newbury, 1971), colonial government (Perham, 1953, 1963, 1970) and management (Cooke, 2003) have explored the nature of colonialism and the economic imperatives, rationales and outcomes for the colonisers and the colonised. It is of note that the interest and orientation of historical enquiry is very time specific: libertarian, racialised and 'civilising' logics that predominated in the late 19th and early 20th centuries contrast with peri-independence and post-colonial accounts. There are now far more contributions from African scholars, but European perspectives dominate, in part because of the nature of the archive deemed to be 'legitimate' in the academy (much of the African view of their history was not formally recorded), and many African sources are not widely available in the Global North.

The British interest in West Africa as a territory is highlighted by the issue of a formal Royal Charter for the exploration and establishment of British trading posts granted during the reign of Charles II. By the 19th century, territorial expansion and exploration to locate mineral wealth became the dominant economic logic. Venturing was the business of private firms, often with the military and technological support of the Crown. This included map-making in order to demark what was under British control and ensure territory could be secured more effectively. After a brief period under administration by the Royal Niger Company, formed from an amalgamation of established British companies, Colonial Nigeria switched to direct administration by the Crown. However, this did not diminish the role of many private British firms: indeed, it could be argued that these firms grew as the Crown provided the infrastructure and specialist knowledge needed to better access the countries natural resources. The rapid introduction of administrative infrastructure projects such as roads and railways required large pools of workers and firms required workers also, so the pressure to find a ready pool of labour intensified.

The drive to exploit the resources of the region placed a range of evolving demands on colonial administrators: our interest is these evolving demands. Moreover, although life was tough and exploitative for working people in 19th and early 20th century Europe, the experience of those working in a colonial context should never be seen as a direct parallel of exploited labour. Those in Europe were always paid labour, never forced (though prisoners could be required to work). In Colonial Nigeria, this was not the case. The different status has contributed to the range of views on the African worker. In his extensive historiography of labour in Africa, Freund (1984) highlights the shifting perspectives that have framed research on African labour, including African nationalism, class formation and class history. He also notes that the answers to how we understand of the experience of African workers '*diverge markedly from perspective to perspective*' (41-42).

Control; accountability; 'progress': creating order amidst resistance

Legg (2005) asserts that in colonies such as British India policies and projects could be pursuded on a scale and in a unilateral manner that would be '*difficult to pursue in Europe, whether due to retribution or uprising without the obligations and duties associated with the European metropole',* with colonies territories 'a space of experimentation and a laboratory of modernity, for security, public health, urban planning, slum clearance and infrastructural

works' (p.144). However, he also argued that populations viewed as 'bad stock' by the colonial authorities, typically those of a different race, could be treated with violence, and genocide committed, if deemed appropriate by the governing authority.

Few would argue that the colonised peoples of sub-Saharan operated within a harsher regime that their contemporaries in Europe. Sherman's (2009) work asserts that the abolition of slavery shaped the practices of flogging, imprisonment and public executions in British colonies in the Caribbean, practices which found their way to Colonial Nigeria (though, ultimately, punishments became sites of contestation and challenge). Moreover, European private citizens could mete out punishments: slave estate owners in the Caribbean and indeed, the Royal Niger Company in Colonial Nigeria. Sherman states that:

> *I prefer to think of this larger system of colonial punishment as the 'coercive network' of the colonial state. This framework for studying practices of punishment recognised that, far from being limited to a single institution, penal practices range from firing on crowds and bombing from the air, to dismissal from one's place of work or study, collective fines, confiscation of property, as well as imprisonment, corporal and capital punishment…..The term coercive network is not meant to imply that the system was cohesive or coherent. Rather, it simply conveys the interlocking nature of the different penal sanctions. Indeed, it is clear that the practices which constituted coercive networks were defined not so much by discipline and regimentation, but by the contradiction and unpredictability that arose out of (colonial) systems replete with tensions* (p16).

Further, Ekechi's (1983) study of an early British colonial administrator, H.M. Douglas, found that locals recalled that he was (1897-1920) as 'not only imperious, overbearing but consciously callous and brutal towards Africans' and was like other administrators, who viewed themselves as 'uncrowned monarchs' (p26) focused on quelling resistance and rebellion.

What is clear in these accounts is that the resource exploitation and the colonial administration that facilitated it could only operate within a level of political and social stability, which, in the context of colonial rule, often required the use of brutal force.

Governmentality, colonialism and 'productive' administration

Kalpagam drew on the concept of governmentality to inform his analysis. Foucault defined governmentality as " *the ensemble formed by the institutions procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, which has as its target population, as its principal form of knowledge political economy, and as its essential technical means apparatuses of security*" (Foucault, 1978, p. 102). Put simply, governmentality can be thought of as a practice of power that aims to govern a population through knowledge-informed guidance of individual behaviour. Governmentality may happen when a population 'appears': in the case of Colonial Nigeria, when it was no longer regarded simply as a *territory* where locals need to be coerced or supressed but a *country* where that needs to be administered (albeit as a Crown colony) and waged labour established in an context where pay for work was not the norm (Beck, 2010).

The Crown would require regular accounts of the progress being made in their colonies. This, Kalpagam (2000) argues, was critical: decisions about how to govern often need to evolve with this formal scrutiny and accountability. He is one amongst a number of scholars interested in the application of *Foucauldian thinking* to colonial administration. In the Indian context, he has identified how under the early administration of the Sub-Continent by the East India Company governance is insignificant (commercial activities important) but 'even then the Company bureaucracy set in place systems of accountability that consolidated knowledge of the commercial activities. One the company acquired the administration of police, justice and revenue… the technique of government were progressively instituted' (p48). We contend that it is possible to identify a similar situation in Colonial Nigeria.

Disciplinary power, in a Foucauldian sense, power which defines itself by its productivity and which aim to make the individual's everyday life productive (Foucault, 1991), was used extensively by the RNC, mainly through the use of military intervention and harsh punishments meted out to non-compliant local communities and leaders. The scale of the region, and the associated administrative task, was beyond the scope of an imperial venturing company. Thus, the role of the British administration of Colonial Nigeria was to facilitate a transition from, primarily, disciplinary power, to governmentality.

A range of scholars of colonial history has employed governmentality. There is no consistent view of what comprises governmentality in a colonial context. Indeed Pesek (2011) argues

that colonial scholars should exercise caution as concept of governmentality came about as a reaction to industrialisation and 'demographic explosion'. *Colonial governmentality* was brought to Africa through conquest albeit that it was not solely connected with the exercise of brute force. Colonial conquest was not only a military endeavour but also a *political project* that aimed to change fundamentally African societies. If colonial governmentality was the result of conquest, then we have to take the specific feature of *colonial order* (p48). Many colonial campaigns were reaction to a crisis, notably diseases, famines and social unrest, a result of the rapid transformation of African societies: this resonates with Sherman's view that colonies were *systems replete with tensions.* Often their short-term goals were only vaguely connected to long-term strategies of the colonial administration. With the crisis gone or solved by successful campaigns, the colonial state reduced its high-profile engagement and 'disappeared behind the veil of indirect rule'. (p56).

Kalpagam and Pesek's studies highlight the importance of understand shifting administrative structures and the distinctive nature of those structures: in colonial Africa, the potential of governmentality as a conceptual lens. Further, we contend that governmentality enables us to understand Colonial Nigerian labour history first, in the more profane terms of supply and demand but secondly, through the everyday reality of the opportunities pursued, and pressures experienced by, colonial administration and the locals they administered. Additionally, its historiographic nature (McKinley, Carter and Pezet, 2012) and focus on the art of governing a population (McKinlay and Pezet, 2018) the latter suggested an evolving, emerging approach is well suited to colonial historical research. In a management and organizational history context, the mode of colonial administration needed to evolve to meet changing commercial pressures exercised by imperial firms and the Crown, and growing challenges from workers. It is the administrative and policy shifts given these pressures that we explore.

Governmentality involves the development and deployment of specific strategies and forms of knowledge to tackle particular problems. Governmentality is practical: how to think about and how to improve, if not solve, a social problem (McKinlay and Pezet 2017, 3-4). Foucault argues that from the 17th century the state develops its role as providing security for the population as completely not just the sovereign, the traditional historical focus of security. This requires the development of a *police*, a range of institutions 'by which the state's forces can be increased while preserving the state in good order'. Foucault defines thirteen domains for a *police*: religion, morals, health and subsistence, public peace, the care of buildings,

squares and highways, sciences and the liberal arts, commerce, manufacture and the mechanical arts, servants and labourers, theatres, games and the care and discipline of the poor (Foucault 2007, 334).

Most of these domains resonate with the challenges facing policy makers and administrators in Colonial Nigeria. Our research focuses on employment policies and practices in colonial Nigeria, during a period of planned development, from the late 19th to early 20th century, aimed at enabling access that was more effective and distribution of security forces, workers and goods [Shelford, 1904, 248-280]. The focus is how waged work was used by the colonial administration as a central plank of regional commercial and economic policy development, as well as a means of influencing and containing traditional leadership, a historical source of unrest and resistance. Governmentality and the deep archive inform our analytical and methodological approaches, respectively.

Archives

To study colonial governmentality we refer to the deep archive; an archive which "trace (s) how this governmentalist logic was translated into the everyday routines through which power acts and is experienced" (McKinlay and Pezet 2017). The deep archive is distinct from the surface archive, that of the debates inside expert communities and/or public debates that produced abstract knowledge and principles (Foucault 1991).

The archive we used is an archive, which describes policies, procedures, calculations and tactics. In the context of governmentality during colonial rule, it is the archive of the mandates, the everyday, the (then) insignificant, and the practical. Governmentality is employed to show how the British reconciled security of the territory and management of the local population in order to create wealth and prosperity for the Crown. The deep archive is concerned with how governmentalist logic is translated into everyday routines through which power acts and is experienced, an archive constructed from forms of public knowledge, amenable to scrutiny by experts, policy makers, citizens and those subjected to its gaze.
For governmentality, Foucault's aim was to understand 'the level of reflection of the practice of government… the way in which this practice that consists of governing was conceptualised within and outside of government (Foucault 2008, 2).

The deep archive provides the basis for the methodological approach developed in this study, specifically to draw together materials that would enable us to scrutinise policy and the rationale that informed it, as well as policy outcomes from the colonial administration perspective and that of the colonised also, making a connection between policies, practice, praxis and outcomes.

We collected archival data which included annual reports from Southern and Northern Nigeria and Lagos Colony (after the formation of Nigeria, the colonial services were administered were based on this north-south split) colonial development acts (up to 1929). We also used Colonial Secretary Office papers and records of the Royal Niger Company housed in the University of Ibadan archive; records, reports and diaries created by Frederick Lugard, Royal Colonial Institute reports, and other reports and documents of the period. Other archival data used include *Hansard of Commons* debates, annual reports of the Lagos Colony, contemporary accounts of colonial policy, the *Lagos Weekly Re*cord, *Nigerian Pioneer* and *The Times* newspapers, and other technical and professional publications. We have also collated the colonial laws and events which relate directly to the shifting demands for labour and the desire to control the actions and aspirations of workers (Figures 1 and 2).

Figure 1 about here

Figure 2 about here

Moving on from the administration of the Royal Niger Company

In 1896, The Royal Niger Company, an amalgamation of established, smaller trading companies, operated under a Royal Charter to establish trading posts, chart territory and establish trading relations in West Africa. Its Royal Charter afforded it the authority to administer the region and establish treaties with locals, as part of Britain's imperial expansionist aspirations. By 1 January 1900, the British Government abrogated the Royal Charter awarded to the Royal Niger Company in 1886 that enabled Sir Taubman Goldie to control the commerce and administration of the Port of Lagos and the Northern and Southern Protectorates (Lugard in Kirk-Greene, 1968). The British government paid Goldie £865,000

on 1 January 1900: this was the cost of acquiring the Protectorates from the company (Hansard of Commons Debate of 3 July 1899).

The UK appointed colonial administrators who were handed political and economic administration of the region. This need for this crucial decision became apparent in 1899, when the imperial, politico-economic strategy for Colonial Nigeria developed in London concluded that a chartered company was incapable of mustering sufficient political and military power to counter the African expansionist agenda of France. In his account, F.D. Lugard notes that, "It was not until 1893-4 that, in consequence of friction with France, the Foreign Office was compelled to champion the cause of the Niger Company and to declare a protectorate of the Niger territories. The 'French crisis' was brought to a close by the Convention of June, 1898, and steps were taken to buy out the Charter of the Niger Company*"*. (Lugard in Kirk-Greene 1968, 111).

Frederick Lugard, who held pivotal administrative roles in Colonial Nigeria, asserted, "there are two serious disabilities under which the British possessions in West Africa lie in respect of revenue and expenditure. Europeans entitled to six month's leave on full pay. The second disability is 'the preposterous rates of pay which have been instituted for local labour of all kinds". (Lugard 1918, 21]). Increased use of local labour, wherever possible, and at the lowest cost achievable, was an integral element of policy in colonial Nigeria. Further, commercial activity was viewed as important for increasing the UK's prosperity but was to be achieved through tight, authoritarian control: "It is my policy to centralise authority, as far as may be, in a recognized chief, and *to introduce the civilizing agency of trade, while repressing all intertribal quarrels*" (Lugard 1918, 27; our italics).

The British government took effective control of the autonomous protectorates in 1900, aided by the newly appointed High Commissioner for the Northern Protectorate, and eventual Governor-General of Nigeria, Lord Lugard. Lugard, born in colonial India and a former mercenary and explorer, had been a colonel in the expeditionary forces serving the Royal Niger Company. He merged Niger Coast Constabulary, Lagos Constabulary, 3rd Battalion West African Field Force and Royal Niger Company Constabulary into a multi-battalion West African Frontier Force. The merger of these four military establishments placed about 2,000 forces and gun carriers under Lugard's command (Lugard 1901, 1918).

Thus through the Port of Lagos and the Protectorates, the Foreign and Colonial Office aimed to improve security, manage local leaders more effectively and grow the size of the local workforce, the latter needed to develop infrastructure and boost productivity in range of industries.

In 1900, the British colonial administration expanded the number of offices and functions beyond those established in Lagos Colony (in 1861). These included the Office of Governor-General, Colonial Secretary, Senior Military Command, Police Command, Chief Magistrate, Private Secretary to the Governor-General, Auditor for Public Accounts, Chief Clerk, Collector of Customs, Judge Gaoler and Registrar. Government Departments included the Judiciary, Military, Police, Prisons, Health, Public Works, Education, Customs, Ports Post & Telegraph, Railway, Shipping, Mines and others (Lagos Annual Report 1862 and 1900). The administration needed more skilled and semi-skilled workers to provide public services to the expanding population of the colony. In addition, there was acute shortage of modern transportation, communication and other critical infrastructure. Waged workers were desperately needed to build the required infrastructures, aligned to the objectives of the Colony.

The Nigerian colonial administration endeavored to first, increase political control in order to enable them to acquire its commodities more cheaply, and secondly, to control rigidly wages, as locals now occupied a wide array of subordinate administrative, clerical, technical and other skilled and unskilled positions in public works and railway transport systems. The latter was developed for transport of troops to suppress disturbances, transport of goods, including heavy machinery (Anon, 1904, 248-254; Shelford, 1903-1904, pp. 246-280)). The West Africa Railways were also vital for the development of new industries, such as mining (Lagos Annual Report 1902, 250-252; see also Bigon, 2017). Between 1865 and 1910, Nigeria became the leading producer of palm oil, (used widely in manufacturing, food processing and pharmaceutics). Indeed, in 1900, the export of palm produce from Nigeria accounted for about 89% of the country's total export to the United Kingdom.

1. Growing demand for a larger work force

Development of infrastructure, primary industries and labour shortages

The colonial administration recruited skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled labour to commence the construction of the Lagos Government Railway in 1896 and many other railway projects in the Protectorates between 1896- and 1909, with work continuing until 1933 (Hansard of Commons Debate. 1907; Shelford (Royal Colonial Institute), 1903-1904; The Railway Magazine, 1964; 1966). By the middle of 1908, average of 4,000 labourers were recruited (Mason 1978). The wage paid by the colonial government for the head porters was *6d* per diem when they carried a *56 lb* load and *3d* per diem when returning home empty (Leith-Ross 1983).

The establishment of the Mineral Survey of Southern Nigeria in 1903 set in motion the government-led hunt for oil and minerals, with licences were granted to private syndicates. Many of the samples tested at the Imperial Institute, now Imperial College, established in 1888 in London to hold and utilise assets and industrial intelligence from private citizens (Annual Report of Southern Nigeria 1906). In 1910, the Royal Niger Company as carriers and others previously hired half of the labourers working in the Jos Plateau mines as forced labour during the railway construction in Northern Nigeria (Newbury 1975). By 1910 the Southern Protectorate, which financed its administration and operations from the outset with revenues of £361,815, increased its revenue to £1,933,235 in 1910 (Carland 1985). Nevertheless, the British needed a larger waged employment system in order to develop further their colonial economic and production structures. They also needed salaried employment to consolidate colonial norms, beliefs and value systems: consumption culture, British colonial ideology, social institutions (i.e. education, media, legal and judicial systems, family structures, languages, health system, business practices, among others), and political and security organisations (i.e. army, police, civil service, prison system). In addition, colonial waged employment policy created local markets for manufactured goods from Britain and whetted the appetite of locals for foreign shoes, plates, radios, gramophones and metal pots produced in Britain (Carland 1985).

Between 1910 and 1911, the Royal Niger Company earned large mining profits and special dividends of about £189,881. By July 1911, about £3 million had been invested in the Nigerian tin mining industry with dozens of mining company syndicates floated on the London Stock Exchange. From the early 1900s, Nigeria exported an annual average of 53,729 tons of palm oil, 475 tons of peanuts and 120,778 tons of palm kernels to the United Kingdom. Also, during this period the country exported 132 tons of cotton and 305 tons of

cocoa, all indicative in the importance of agriculture (Ward 1924; Beck 2010). Further, the involvement of Britain in World War I aided the expansion of waged employment opportunities as Nigerian troops and sailors were recruited between 1914 and 1918 into the Royal West African Frontier Force. By 25 August 1914, thousands of fought against German forces at the Battle of Tepe, which led to the withdrawal of German troops between 1914 and 1916. More than 15,000 combatant and 30,000 non-combatant soldiers were enlisted or conscripted to participate in the war (Ekoko 1979; Hayward and Clarke 1964).

Lugard decided to transform the Northern Protectorate's feudal labour system gradually into a daily or monthly wage system, as more government initiatives were developed in the North (e.g., expansion of the railway system). Lugard proposed legislation that prevented freed slaves from gaining access to land, forcing them to work as labourers and receiving wages on the plantations of traditional leaders. His two main objectives were to end the Hausa feudal agricultural production system built on forced labour and replace it with British wage labour system and taxation systems. However, he believed no country in the world could survive without casual labour. He transformed the caliphate's administrative system into a District Native Administrative System, a form of Indirect Rule system headed by a native ruler, the Emir, who was answerable to the Governor-General, (a policy Lugard had practiced previously in East Africa: Lugard 1922). At any given time in the Northern Protectorate, the British administration devoted an average of one administrative officer to oversee a total of 2,900 square miles and 105,000 people. This was implemented "to afford the Natives of Nigeria tribunals which fully understand their own customs and modes of thought, and will command their confidence, and to promote cooperation between the Head Chief and those tribunals". (Lugard 1918, 265, Lugard, 1922, see also Atanda, 1973 Perlham 1937). This led to a structure of new district heads (hakimi) and other administrative officers of the state, who were paid fixed salaries.

Therefore, in colonial Nigeria, in common with much of the British Empire, we content that there was a co-existence of local sovereignty by traditional rulers alongside British colonial administration. This co-existence is, in governmentality terms, the creation of a *police* in order to weaken, rather than replace, local, native sovereignty. Lugard notes that colonial Nigeria should be run based on a *suzerain relationship* (Lugard, 1922, 218). A *suzerainty* is where a sovereign state has some control over another state yet is internally autonomous, with

European officers the 'technical advisers, and helpers, of the tribal authority'. He noted also that '*the chiefs are keenly appreciative of our policy of indirect rule, and of the full powers they retain under their native institutions*' (1922, 199). This exercise of localised authority and control enabled the British to maintain order and quell discontent and uprisings while operating with a relatively small number of British administrators and local security services: traditional absolute rule in collaboration with colonial administrative authoritarianism.

Although the ultimate objective was to increase British influence, weaken, and where necessary, destroy traditional ruler authority, change was undertaken on the principle of *festina lente*, make haste slowly (Lugard 1922, 218). Therefore, the transition to more European norms should be approached progressively and pragmatically, and at a pace that could be absorbed given existing local customs and practices. It was anticipated also that among the European norms adopted would be that of waged employment.

To the surprise of the British administration, more workers were returning to farming Than to waged employment (Brown 2003; Nwanumobi 1982). To solve this shortage, the British administrators resorted to recruiting from areas they had colonised earlier than Nigeria, such as Sierra Leone and Ghana. This solution brought about transportation and language problems. As time went on, the alternative was to adopt forced labour using Warrant Chiefs. Warrant Chiefs, along with Provincial chiefs, were non-traditional chiefs appointed by the colonial administration in the absence of chiefdom structures (especially so amongst the Ibos who had no system of chiefs of kings as tribal decision-making was consensual), to act as representatives on behalf of the British. Lugard justified this by claiming that among the primitive tribes, a measure of compulsion through their tribal Chiefs was justifiable, in order to obtain labour for the government services and other critical construction works, and as an educative process to remove fear and suspicion (Lugard 1901; Perlham 1937)

However, Lugard believed that the rates for skilled local workers in the colonial civil service such as clerks, artisans, engineers and pilots were 50% higher than they should have been. He observed the expenditures on carriers and unskilled labour and declared that he would have to reduce costs by the introduction of wheeled traffic and motor cars. He believed that, with the introduction of motor cars, government wage expenditure would be drastically reduced. Between 1908 and 1909, Lugard made good his promise to introduce wheeled vehicles to reduce costs; over 1,200 four-wheeled motor vehicles were imported into Nigeria. In addition,

around 1,685 bicycles were imported between 1908 and 1909. Alcohol imports increased, as in some regions, alcohol was used as a means of payment for work (Lugard 1922).

However, even with these interventions, labour levels did not meet the demand from either the colonial authority, who wanted to carry out porterage and mining, including construction of offices, roads and the railway lines, or the local landowners, who wanted to expand their plantation farms and boost productivity. Thus, Native Authority action resorted to forced labour. For Lugard, the government's forced labour offer was better because the government paid adequate wages regularly, whereas the Chiefs did not pay well the people they forced into labour (Lugard 1918; 1922).

Moreover, as a strategy to resolve the problem of insufficient workers in the North, the colonial administration also made use of prisoners to augment its labour force. For example, prisoners were employed throughout the Protectorate and deployed for building, road making and repairing, sanitation, farming, gardening and transport of stored goods, shoemaking, carpentry and so on. Additionally, British officials had established vegetable gardens attached to the prison farms in most provinces, and sold the produce (Annual Report of Northern Nigeria 1913).

Growth in colonial administration and physical infrastructure – increasing demands for 'reliable' waged labour alongside forced and slave labour

Newbury (1975) observed that in half of the Jos mines, the labour categorised as political labour (recruited by force) within Zaria province in the North, were paid *6d* per day while the voluntary labour were paid *9d* per day (citing Royal Niger Company Papers Vol. XIV, f. 97 and f. 239).

Indeed, the Native House Rule Proclamation No 26 (1901) in the Oil Rivers area of the Southern Protectorate allowed the employment of members of a homestead (the dwellings of a senior member within the society). This included waged labour, forced labour (referred to by the Colonial administration as *political labour*) and slaves (the latter largely in the North), by the head of the household. The head, who was expected to recruit labour for colonial government received a portion of the earnings and punished the failure to perform by a labourer or slave with a fine £50 or a prison term of one year. Similarly, the The Master and Servant Proclamation

of 1901 gave authority to the head of household and chiefs to recruit “apprentices” (indentured labour) for colonial government work.

It is of note that between 1906 and 1924, the colonial government was involved in the recruitment of labour for the privately owned gold mines of the Tarkwa-Prestea, an exercise conducted on the shadowy border between communal labour and forced labour. Organized government recruitment for the mines was considered necessary because of the reluctance of local labour to work underground. For example, the Akan detested working in mines, as they believed that underground mining activities could attract unfriendly spirits and considered mining jobs as demeaning because such activities were preserved for slaves. They also considered mining and porterage dangerous (Aremu 2014; Ofosu-Mensah 2011). The chiefs, who acted as labour contractors for the colonial administration, and recruited forced labour to work in government plantations, mines and colliery in Northern and Southern Nigeria, employed the 1909 Collective Punishment Ordinance. For example, it was used to recruit forced labour for Enugu colliery (Brown 2003). The Niger Coast Protectorate systematically used the forced labour regulation, the Native House Rule Proclamation and the Forestry Ordinance of 1901. Lugard applied the Collective Punishment Ordinance widely in Northern Nigeria to secure forced labour for colonial work (Usuanlele 2010). Further, Lugard later changed his belief in the use of Chiefs as recruitment agents in a Political Memorandum, so that every labourer had to be paid for the services they render, in cash, fully and at short intervals, without an intermediary official or Chief. This change of policy legitimised the system of labour and created a free job market. In 1925, the chiefs in Northern Nigeria (Bigon 2017; Mason 1978) forcibly recruited about 38% of the 12,500 employees working on the construction of railway lines.

Further, although the trans-Atlantic slave trade was abolished in 1807, and essentially eliminated by 1834, the implementation of the Prohibition of *Slave Dealing* Proclamation was made in July 1900 for Southern Nigeria and for Northern Nigeria on the 1 January 1901: dealing in slaves was illegal but there was less clarity regarding the use of existing slaves. In other words, the availability and use of slave labour (alongside forced labour) continued in Colonial Nigeria 90 years slavery in North America and the Caribbean was deemed unlawful. In his memo on slavery and forced labour Lugard is clear about the distinctions between the Northern and Southern protectorates and slave dealing. “*In accordance with British tradition,*

the enactments relating to slavery were at first lenient, and their application was not drastically enforced….Guided by the same tradition, the legislation has drawn a distinction between the Northern Provinces, in large parts of which Mohammedan law, which recognises slavery, is administered, and the Southern Provinces in which there are no Courts subject to that Code (1918, 217).

2. Resistance to colonial governmentality

The political and economic importance of Lagos increased as Yorubaland was developed for exports to the UK, and Lagos was transformed, becoming Nigeria's imperial capital. Lagos Colony became the pivot of waged labour where the majority of well-educated men and women from across Nigeria and Colonial Nigeria came to in order to find work but also were willing to fight against exploitative subsistence wages. Moreover, some workers were influenced by literature that underpinned the UK Labour Party's foreign policy. In early 1900s, Labour's internationalism position was built on the intellectual pedestal of the radical 19th century Liberal ideologues (Birchman 1945; Howe 1993; Kabe 2006; Vickers 2003), and the Quakers' social philosophy, which advocated universal social justice and the defence of human rights.

It is of note that the value of imports (4,962,544) in the Southern Protectorate in 1909 exceeded that for exports (4,169, 161). In the Northern Protectorate, the imbalance between imports (£1, 215, 084) and exports (£406, 722) was even more pronounced (Newbury, 1971, 616). Further, the 1900s were recessionary years in the Colony. The economic depression at the end of the 19th century led to the deterioration in the incomes and living standards of well-educated, semi-skilled and unskilled workers in permanent and nonpermanent employment, in Government public service and private trading companies. Locals were on the receiving end of widespread price fixing for agricultural commodities, and determined the high prices locals paid for imported manufactured goods from Europe. (Nwanunobi 1982; Olukoju 1996).

However, although the Nigerian peasantry were the largest group of workers, they were also the most atomized, uneducated, conservative and oppressed group and eventually it was the better-educated urban working class that confronted British run organisations in Nigeria.

Lagos Colony became a hotbed of labour activism (Mason 1978). Therefore, at the same time as the British colonial administration was attempting to create a waged labour market there was also increasing worker unrest and the creation of trade unions.

In 1902, Nigerian Railway Clerks went on strike as a protest against poor wages, deteriorating living conditions and poor welfare services (Dorward 1986). Governor Lugard suppressed the agitation without fulfilling some of the critical issues that led to the strike action. Given the British administration's intransigence regarding to the 1902 workers' protests and grievances, by 1904 the Nigerian Railway Clerks went on strike again in protest against a new form of employment contract for public service staff that was alleged to be racially discriminatory towards African employees (Lindsay 1996), including the elimination of sick pay by the government. This time semiskilled and unskilled railway workers, the Nigerian press, (specifically the Lagos Weekly Record) and local activists in Lagos supported the clerks. Between 1886 and 1904, about six strikes took place in Lagos, all challenging poor wages, as well as bad welfare conditions and deteriorating living standards. In response to the Nigerian press' support for Nigerian workers and the groundswell of protests against British imperialist exploitation. The 1903 Nigerian Newspaper Ordinance and the 1909 Nigerian Seditious Offences Ordinance were declared by the colonial government in order to stifle criticism and suppress protests. The Nigerian press launched a biting, vitriolic attack against the perceived clampdown on oppositional views of Nigerians, racial discrimination in the wage structures in government departments, restrictive legislation and failure to embrace the educated elite and include the emerging nationalists in the affairs of government.

In 1905, the Civil Service Union was formed in Lagos Colony and the Southern Nigeria Protectorate (Orr 1966); many other unions was formed to fight for employment rights, as well as wages and welfare system for workers. They protested also against racial discrimination and exploitation by the British administration. In 1911, the Lagos Mercantile Clerks Association was formed ostensibly to protect the interests and employment rights of clerks in private companies. On 19 August 1912, the renamed Nigerian Civil Service Union was established as trade union to agitate for better working conditions for African workers on top of their agenda established in 1905. In 1913, it members had risen in number to 500. On 1 January 1914, the amalgamation of the Colony and Southern Protectorate and the Northern Protectorates by the British administration through the Amalgamation Act of 1914, led to the unification of the existing civil services into a unified civil service with an expanded number

of wage earners. In 1913, about 83 workers from the Government Printing Department went on strike in Lagos to protest against poor wages, lack of promotion, unfavourable employee welfare and falling living standards (*Lagos Weekly Record*, 21 June 1913). Trade unions and the Nigerian press sensitised Nigerian workers to their poor wages, bad working conditions, inequality and racial discrimination between the British workers and African worker among others. Thus, they prepared the foundation for the labour ferment that ensued. From 1919 to 1922, the Nigeria Civil Service Union led demands for equal pay and promotion to higher posts for African workers. Beginning from 1919, the Lagos Dock Workers involved in the loading and unloading ships, an unfairly and perennially exploited group of workers, whose real income had deteriorated considerably due to post-World War I inflation, went on strike to protest against the pay rate of *1s* per day that had persisted from the 1890s for a pay increase to *4s* per day (*Nigerian Pioneer* 31 January 1919). Other strikes included the Lagos Docks Strike, 1919 (Peil 1991) which led to the establishment of the National African Sailors' and Firemen's Union in 1920. In the same year, the railway and public works labourers went on strike in 1920, over pay and cost of living, a year after the Nigerian Mechanics Union was formed in 1919 (Lindsey 1996). In response to these demands, the British colonial administration set up the Batt Committee (1919) and Rice Committee (1919) to identify the causes of labour unrest and propose recommendations to solve them.

World War I taxes, uprisings and rebellion

On 28 July 28, 1914 World War I began; it had an attendant adverse impact on the colonial economy in Nigeria. The attempt by the British Government to generate revenue to fund World War I expenditures led to a series of revolts in Yorubaland. In the face of the dwindling financial and economic fortunes during the First World War in 1917, the Native Revenue Proclamation of 1906 was amended and passed as the Native Revenue Ordinance in 1917 to increase revenue generation through income tax and levies on other business activities. In 1916, Lugard amended the 1906 Tax Law and forwarded it to the Lagos Legislative Council to be passed into law (Afigbo 1982). The tax implementation led to revolt in Yorubaland. The increase in taxation, the introduction of indirect rule in Oyo province led to 1916 Iseyin-Okeho revolution. The abrogation of a Yoruba system of government based on reciprocity between rulers and subjects which enshrined an accepted form of checks and balances and its substitution by indirect rule, resulted to the popular Iseyin-Okeho Peasant Revolt against British indirect rule between 1916 and 1917. On 19 October 1916, the Onjo

(the King), Olori (the Queen) and Daudu (the Prince), all symbolising the British Native Authority, tax extortion and Native Court in Okeho were killed. Lord Lugard ordered troops to march on Ibadan, Lagos, Iseyin and Okeho, where they suppressed the revolt and executed its six ringleaders, including the traditional ruler, Aseyin of Iseyin, publically (Atanda 1973). This violent response is consistent with Lugard's assertion that such events ''must be dealt with by the exhibition of such a degree of force as may be necessary to compel obedience to the law." (1918, 249)'.

Egba peasants also protested against the introduction high taxation and indirect rule, with the Abeokuta people were enraged by the suspension of Egba independence, and the elevation of the Alake of Egba that was formerly *primus inter pares,* as the supreme traditional leader of Egbaland by the British colonial administration, to the detriment of the other traditional rulers (Atanda 1973). The Egba peasant revolt led to the killing of one of the traditional rulers, the Osile and the killing of a European trading agent, and the destruction of railway tracks, telegraph lines and looting of stores. Lugard ordered troops to quell the uprising and about 500 people were killed in the conflict. Disturbances of this kind were often raised in the UK, in Parliament (e.g., Hansard of Commons Debate 1930)

Given these incidents of industrial unrest and rebellion, it is unsurprising that in 1923, Herbert Macaulay formed the first political party, the Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) (Aderinto 2015), a watershed in the Nigerian political history. In 1927, Macaulay and his friend Dr. John Akilade Caulcrick, a physician turned politician, acquired the *Lagos Daily News*, the first daily newspaper established in 1925. Because of Macaulay's and NNDP support to the people and workers, the party won all the seats in the elections to the Legislative Council in 1923, 1928 and 1933 (Thomas 1946). The 1909 Seditious Offences Ordinance and the 1916 Criminal Code were deployed to attempt to censor and suppress anti-British sentiment and union activity. However, this was largely ineffective as workers had been conscientised and mobilised against the marketisation of wages. Moreover, in 1929, there was pressure from the International Labour Office to allow trade unions freedom to associate, the dread of infiltration and radicalization by Socialists/Communists and the ideological sympathy of the Labour party for trade unions. This motivated the Colonial Office under the leadership of Lord Passfield to direct the colonial administrations to permit trade unions to associate freely in order to steer them towards responsible ends (NAI CSO 26/1). The Colonial Development Act 1929 was ostensibly designed to improve relations between

Britain and its colonies and find solutions to rising unemployment in Britain and the colonies. It stated that wages would be paid at no less than standardised rates, discouraged forced labour and employment of children (see also Hansard of Commons Debate 1931).

Conclusion

Governmentality is associated with a population: the population of colonial Nigeria was considered productive (Foucault, 1978/1991), in this case, for generating wealth for the UK. Disciplinary power (Foucault, 1991) is then part of normal functioning and applied in production sites, i.e., work locations, but in particular those outside of the main governmentalist regime: the micro-technology of power was integral to the 'modernising' project.

When production and productivity were deemed insufficient then a larger population had to be secured. An important motivation for the implementation of a wage employment system was to weaken traditional authority and ultimately to create a workforce that operated independent of local leaders, thus strengthening British authority also. It was also the implementation of governmentalist rationality based on the attraction of money, economic security and welfare through consumption.

However, many locals did not wish to work for wages (deemed undesirable traditionally) or in onerous, unfamiliar working conditions (such as mines), so there were many labour shortages. So alongside a population managed according to the governmentalist principals of a wage employment system there were other sectors of workers: forced and slave labour, managed under a harsh, disciplinary regime mainly in harsher work environments. Indeed, well into mid-20th century, slave plantations operated in the north, especially in the Sokoto Caliphate and Kano Emirate (Salau 2011). The North was essentially viewed in a heterotopic manner (Pezet and Cornelius, 2017), as a parallel space in which norms tolerated within it would not be acceptable in the other parts of the colony.

The labour force of waged and unwaged labour was central to British colonial policy, providing workers for security, infrastructure development industry, agriculture and administration. Waged workers also ensured that more specialist roles were available to a more skilled and educated workforce, as well as a captive market for British imports.

However, World War 1 introduced a breach in the governmentalist regime. The financial pressures experienced by the Crown reverberated in colonial Nigeria in the form of poorer wages, new and higher taxes, and eventually, fresh thinking. Wages were no longer sufficient to secure the goods and services they had previously. Left-wing European ideals in the form of activist unionism, alongside exposure to the realities of fighting for the British Empire and returning to colonial rule created unrest: ideas arising from European governmentality reinforced dissatisfaction under the regime of British colonial governmentality. This is not so surprising, as Scott (1995) suggests:

> *Because if, as I argue, what ought to be understood are the political rationalities of colonial power, then what now becomes important is not a "decentering" of Europe as such, but in fact a critical interrogation of the practices, modalities, and projects through which the varied forms of Europe's insertion into the lives of the colonized were constructed and organized* (Scott, 1995, 193).

Workers nurtured an increasing number of grievances, as the hardship of their lives and a growing sense of injustice intensified. This growing perception was mediated through better education, more effective collective action, activism and communication of the actions taken by government and business against locals, through local journals and newspapers. Foucault's observation, that resistance and challenge is an inevitable consequence of governing, is reinforced. The movement from a territory to a state structure, aligned with rising education, resentment of poor wages and living conditions, punitive taxation, brutal suppression of rebellion, as well the thousands that served the British Army during World War 1, created in turn individuals who increasingly regarded themselves as citizens with rights, not merely natives under the 'protection' of the Crown.

The legacy of Colonial Nigeria as central to the transatlantic slave trade (the Port of Lagos was formally The Slave Coast), and the views on race and other that infused this trade, continued to inform the practices that prevailed in the labour market. This included not only the use of forced and slave labour and harsh punishments, but also the need maintain the structures and symbols of white superiority in the workplace, with even the most (sometimes Western) educated employees subject to job segregation and the requirement to occupy the most junior positions.

Moreover, an additional observation is that the roots of transatlantic slavery run deeper than reflected in our understanding of 19th and 20th century British social, economic and management history. It has been noted that there have been few attempts to make the link between slavery and European commercial achievements, past and present. Cooke (2003, 1895) in particular asserts that '(*slave) plantations are a site of the emergence of industrial discipline*'. Most obviously, reparations paid to plantation owners in Britain on the abolition of slavery turned many plantation owners into the super rich (the government had to raise £20 million (40% of the Treasury's national income) with much of this money eventually invested in banking and commercial activities in the UK (Mitchell, 2011).

We contend also that many of the practices developed in the Industrial revolution had their roots in the slave estates of British North America (the original Commonwealth) and the Caribbean and can be seen in the practices UK businesses. Indeed, Amussen (2007) argued that slavery had an important role in transforming British society. Her research suggests that many changes were needed in agriculture, law and social relations for the English to become slaveholders. Further, she asserts that many of the ideas and practices developed in the British slave plantations changed practices and attitudes in Britain, not only encouraging and normalizing pejorative, racist views but also changing attitudes towards work and workers.

> "To become successful planters in the Caribbean, English men had changed their social practices in multiple ways. To guarantee a supply of labor, they had used both indentured servitude and slavery; they had developed harsh regimes of labor discipline for both, and in the peak of the sugar production season they structured work in shifts so that production continued 24 hours a day. Throughout the eighteenth Century English economy, there are blurred divisions between free and unfree labor and tendencies to value people in terms of money. It was not only slaves who were commodities. If English agriculture was never run like a Barbadian plantation, English enterprises were…. The mature factory of the Industrial Revolution bears an even stronger resemblance to the efficient organization of the plantation. Some early factories ran twenty-four hours a day; most others took advantage of the invention of gaslight to work into the night at intense speeds" (2007, 230)

We suggest that these ideas found their way back into colonial worker policy also. Further the colonial practices from the Americas shaped European perceptions of the African (and the African diaspora) whether forced or waged labourer, a slave or a free man, well into the 20th

century. It is also observed that it is ironic that working practices from the slave estates of the Americas found their way to the UK and then back again, to Colonial Nigeria.

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Figure 1 Laws passed in Colonial Nigeria [Legislation relating to employment, production and communication]

LAW/ YEAR

1 The Prohibition of Slave Dealing Proclamation 1900/1901

2 Forestry Ordinance 1901

3 The Native House Rule Proclamation No 26 1901

4 The Master and Servant Proclamation 1901

5 Nigerian Newspaper Ordinance 1903

6 Nigerian Seditious Offences Ordinance 1909

7 Mineral Ordinance 1909

8 Seditious Offences Ordinance 1909

9 Mineral Ordinances 1914

10 Criminal Code 1916

11 Mineral Ordinances 1916

12 Native Revenue Ordinance 1917

13 Colonial Office Memorandum 1925

14 African Education Ordinance 1 January 1928

15 Labour Ordinance No.1 1929

Figure 2: Timeline of events that impacted on the demand for labour in Colonial Nigeria

EVENT / YEAR

1 Economic depression from the 1870s to the 1900s

2 Construction of the Lagos Government Railway in 1896

3 The British Government abrogated Her Majesty Charter awarded to the
Royal Niger Company.
1 January 1900

4 A railway from Ebute Meta to Ibadan commissioned in 1901

5 The Nigerian Railway Clerks Strike in Lagos. 1902

6 The Nigerian Railway Clerks strike. 1904

7 The Civil Service Union was formed in the Lagos Colony and the
Southern Nigeria Protectorate.
1905

8 Lord Lugard amends the1906 Tax Law.

9 The establishment of the Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria. 1906

10 The construction of the Baro–Kano Railway. 1907

11 The Mineral Ordinance of 1909 and mining of natural resources in Colonial Nigeria.

1909

12 108 mining companies registered by the British colonial administration. 1913

13 83 workers of the Government Printing Department strike in Lagos (*Lagos Weekly Record*, 21 June 1913)

21 June 1913

14 Mineral Ordinances of 1914 and 1916 deepened exploration for tin, iron ore, aluminium and other solid minerals in the country.

1914/1916

15 The British government took special interest in establishing Middle Schools in the North to produce educated people to work in government departments.

1910-1920

16 The Nigeria Civil Service Union press for equal pay and promotion to higher posts for African workers in Nigeria.

1919-1922

17 The Colonial Bank established in Lagos in 1917 (Barclays Bank (DCO) in 1925). 1917

18 Iseyin-Okeho Peasant Revolt against British indirect rule between 1916 and 1917.

1916-1917

19 Egba peasants revolt against high taxation and indirect rule. 1918

20 Marine Department Workers went on strike. 1920

21 Ebute Metta Railway Locomotive Department casual workers went on strike over pay rates and the cost of living.

1920

22 1920s economic depression increased labour unrests. 1920

23 Nigerian Mechanic Union went on strike in Lagos because of poor wages and rising cost of living.

1920

24 Industrial and Commercial Bank was set up by Nigerians living in the UK. 1929

25 The formation of the first political party in Nigeria, Nigerian National Democratic Party (NNDP) by Herbert Macaulay.

24 June 1923